

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1358

INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY LIMA

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 8958

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, PFOR, ECON, CI

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S SEPTEMBER 11, 1976 ADDRESS

REF: SANTIAGO 8913

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING UP ON REFTEL, THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S MAJOR POLICY SPEECH ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1976, THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1973 MILITARY COUP. A SEPARATE TELEGRAM IS BEING SENT ON THE THREE CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS SIGNED SEPTEMBER 11, AND THEY WILL BE SUBJECTED TO FURTHER ANALYSIS SHORTLY.

2. THE REFTEL COMMENTED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE NEW IN PINOCHET'S MESSAGE. THAT IS TRUE IN THE SENSE THAT THERE WAS LITTLE WE HAD NOT HEARD BEFORE. BUT WE AGREE WITH THE SEPTEMBER 12 COMMENT IN SANTIAGO'S ESTABLISHMENT PAPER "EL MERCURIO" THAT THE MESSAGE WAS IMPORTANT IN SIGNALING A "PROFOUND ADVANCE" ALONG THE PATH FOLLOWED BY THE CHILEAN MILITARY. THE SPEECH
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LOOKS TOWARD THE CREATION OF A COMPLETELY NEW INSTITUTIONAL

STRUCTURE, UNDER WHICH THE COUNTRY MUST CONTINUE UNDER
AUTHORITARIAN MILITARY RULE UNTIL IT IS READY TO EMBRACE A
NEW, PURIFIED DEMOCRACY.

3. PINOCHET'S SPEECH IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PRINCIPAL PARTS:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL, AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL.
THE POLITICAL SECTION LAYS OUT THE INTELLECTUAL FRAMEWORK
FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS AND FOR BASIC GOC POLICIES
IN THE PERIOD AHEAD. ITS POINT OF DEPARTURE IS THE PERMANENT
EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL THREAT OF SOVIET- SPONSORED MARXIST
AGGRESSION. THIS THREAT, THE PRESIDENT ASSERTED, MUST BE
CONFRONTED BY A MILITARY GOVERNMENT OPERATING IN CLOSE
COOPERATION WITH LIKE-THINKING CIVILIANS, BUT WITH POWER
ROOTED IN THE ARMED FORCES AND POLICE. INHERENT IN THIS
NATIONAL SECURITY STATE, HE MADE IT CLEAR, IS THAT REJECTION
OF CHILE'S TRADITIONAL LIBERAL DEMOCRACY, WITH ITS "NEUTRAL"
APPROACH TO THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER. THERE IS NO
PLACE FOR PERSONS OR ORGANIZATIONS HOSTILE TO THE NEW
CONCEPT, AND POLITICAL PARTIES MUST NOT BE INSTRUMENTS IN A
STRUGGLE FOR POWER. CRITICISM MUST BE STRICTLY CONTROLLED.

4. PINOCHET COVERED THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN
COMPARATIVELY GREAT DETAIL, BUT HIS REMARKS ON THAT SUBJECT
WERE NOTABLE CHIEFLY FOR THEIR REAFFIRMATION OF ONGOING
POLICY. THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE. HE
NEATLY AVOIDED SUCH PITFALLS AS THE COUNTRY'S RELATIVE LACK
OF SUCCESS IN ATTRACTING FOREIGN INVESTMENT, ASCRIBED SHORT-
COMINGS TO EXTERNAL OR INHERITED CAUSES, AND REPEATEDLY
TWEAKED THE NOSES OF HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS. PINOCHET
PRESENTED HIMSELF THROUGHOUT AS A LEADER DEEPLY CONCERNED
WITH THE PLIGHT OF THE POORER CLASSES. END SUMMARY.

5. FOREIGN POLICY: IN THIS SECTION PINOCHET REASSURED THE
CHILEANS THAT THE GOC IS NOT ISOLATED, SINCE ITS INTERNATIONAL
POSITION IS BEING "CONSOLIDATED AND IS PROGRESSING." SECOND,
CONSISTENT WITH THE MAJOR ANALYSIS MADE LATER IN THE SPEECH,
HE JUSTIFIED THE GOC'S CONTINUING TOUGH ATTITUDE TOWARD
INTERNAL SECURITY CONTROLS ON THE BASIS OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM'S
"AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN"-- A CAMPAIGN THAT HAS WORSENED RATHER
THAN DIMINISHED.

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6. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, PINOCHET BEGAN WITH A REFERENCE TO
THE GOC'S PARTICIPATION IN THE JUNE-JULY MEETINGS OF THE
ANTARCTIC TREATY POWERS: ITS IMPORTANCE LAY IN THE DEFENSE OF
CHILE'S SOVEREIGNTY-- "THE FIRST REQUIREMENT OF ANY AUTHENTIC
FOREIGN POLICY." REFERRING NEXT TO CHILE'S IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS,
HE MENTIONED BOLIVIA AND PERU ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH DEMONSTRATE CHILE'S

"PEACEFUL AND INTEGRATIONIST" SPIRIT. PINOCHET THEM EMPHASIZED CHILE'S "EXCELLENT" BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA, BEFORE DESCRIBING THE "GREAT DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS" OF THE OASGA IN SANTIAGO. OAS FOREIGN MINISTERS WITNESSED "OUR TRUE REALITY," WHICH WAS REFLECTED IN THE "ESSENTIALLY POSITIVE" VOTE FOR CHILE, IN THE SHAPE OF THE OASGA HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION. PINOCHET PUT THE ANDEAN PACT PROBLEM IN TERMS OF CHILE'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS OWN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY, AND ITS RESPECT FOR OTHER COUNTRIES' SIMILAR RIGHTS.

7. PINOCHET DEVOTED ONE SHORT PARAGRAPH TO THE UNITED STATES. DESPITE OBSTACLES THAT "SOME POLITICAL SECTORS HAVE PERSISTED IN CREATING," EVEN "BREAKING NORMS AND PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW" (I.E., THE BAN ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE), BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE "ON A GOOD FOOTING" ("EN UN BUEN PCE"). PINOCHET SAID THAT THE PERSONAL CONTACT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER IN SANTIAGO "CONTRIBUTED MIGHTILY" TO THIS END, AS WELL AS THE "POSITIVE VIEW OF OUR ECONOMIC PROGRESS THAT SECRETARY SIMON COULD APPRECIATE AND DIFFUSE IN HIS VISIT." PINOCHET CITED ALSO THE "VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION" OF THE US VISITS OF JUNTA MEMBERS ADMIRAL MERINO AND GENERAL LEIGH.

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8. SPAIN GOT TWO SHORT PARAGRAPHS BUILT AROUND PINOCHET'S VISIT TO MADRID FOR FRANCO'S FUNERAL ("A STATEMAN DISTINGUISHED FOR HIS LUCIDITY AND COURAGE"). EUROPE IS DISMISSED IN ONE SENTENCE: DOMESTIC POLITICS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN "CONSPIRED" AGAINST BETTER RELATIONS. CHILE THEREFORE HAS INTENSIFIED ITS RELATIONS WITH ASIA, AFRICA AND OCEANIA, THROUGH VISITS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES.

9. ENDING HIS REMARKS ON FOREIGN POLICY, PINOCHET ASCRIBED TO THE "GIGANTIC MACHINERY OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM" CHILE'S TROUBLE SIN THE WORLD AND IN THE UNGA OVER "ALLEGED SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS" OF HUMAN RIGHTS (ACCUSATIONS "WITHOUT ANY SERIOUS BASIS"). PINOCHET REPEATED SOLEMNLY THAT NEVERTHELESS CHILE WOULD CONTINUE COLLABORATING N THE WORLD COMMUNITY, "BUT FOR NO REASON WILL IT BE PREPARED TO ALLOW TREATMENT THAT IS DISCRIMINATORY OR OFFENSIVE TO ITS SOVEREIGNTY OR DIGNITY."

10. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL:

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PROUDLY EXTOLLING HIS GOVERNMENT'S ACHIEVEMENTS ON THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS FRONT, AND PUTTING THE BEST FACE POSSIBLE ON ITS LESS-THAN-CONCLUSIVE CAMPAIGN AGAINST INFLATION, PINOCHET LAID MAJOR EMPHASIS ON HIS SOCIAL PROGRAMS, AND ON MODEST MEASURES TO REACTIVATE THE ECONOMY.

A) BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: THE PRESIDENT DREW APPLAUSE WITH THE REMINDER THAT AT LONG LAST THE NATION'S EXTERNAL DEBT, INHERITED FROM PAST REGIMES, WAS DIMINISHING. NON-TRADITIONAL EXPORTS HAD SOARED, AND A BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SURPLUS WAS BEING ACHIEVED. PINOCHET USED THIS ACHIEVEMENT TO GIBE AT HIS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC OPPONENTS--"CERTAIN INTERESTED GROUPS" HAD ARGUED THAT ONLY THEIR RESTORATION TO POWER COULD ATTRACT THE "MARSHALL PLAN" LEVEL OF AID NEEDED TO REDRESS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

B) INFLATION: RECALLING THE ASTRONOMICAL INFLATION OF THE LAST DAYS OF ALLENDE, PINOCHET STATED THAT ANNUAL INFLATION FOR 1976 WOULD BE "BELOW 200 PERCENT," AND THAT THE RATE OF INCREASE WOULD DIMINISH FURTHER. HE EXPLAINED HIS ECONOMIC TEAM'S RELATIVELY INEFFECTIVE ATTACK ON INFLATION BY CITING THE OBLIGATION ON THE GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN PERIODIC WAGE READJUSTMENTS TO MATCH COST OF LIVING INCREASES. BY THE SAME TOKEN, ANY LARGER SALARY INCREASES WOULD ONLY HAVE INCREASED INFLATION STILL FURTHER. WITH THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS PROBLEM IN HAND, THE PRESIDENT NOW FELT ABLE TO PROMISE A LONG OVERDUE RAISE IN THE CIVIL SERVICE WAGE

SCALE ("ESCALA UNICA") JANUARY 1, CONSULTATIONS LEADING TO PRIVATE SECTOR WAGE INCREASES, AND A REDUCTION IN TAXES, ALL OF WHICH WOULD HAVE AN INVIGORATING EFFECT ON THE ECONOMY.

C) INVESTMENT: PINOCHET URGED THE NEED FOR MORE FOREIGN INVESTMENT (STILL LAGGING) AND FOR LONGER TERM CREDITS TO STIMULATE DOMESTIC INVESTMENT. DOMESTIC INVESTMENT BY ITSELF COULD NOT BRING ABOUT ECONOMIC REACTIVATION. DOMESTIC SAVINGS AT THE NECESSARY LEVEL WOULD REQUIRE A 15 PERCENT REDUCTION IN CONSUMPTION, SOMETHING WHICH (MOUNTING APPLAUSE) WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

D) FOREIGN TRADE AND ANDEAN PACT: URGING THE NEED FOR GREATER IMPORTS IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN THE NONTRADITIONAL EXPORT PROGRAM
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AND TO REDUCE DOMESTIC PRICES, PINOCHET DECLARED THAT CHILE WOULD NOT ALLOW ITS ANDEAN PACT PARTNERS TO DICTATE ITS DEVELOPMENT POLICY. HE HAD EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT CHILE'S PROPOSED MODIFICIATIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY ITS PACT PARTNERS.

E) UNEMPLOYMENT: NOTING THE HEAVY BURDEN OF SORROW WHICH HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT IMPOSED ON HIM, THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT ECONOMIC RECOVERY WOULD EASE THE PROBLEM, WHICH WAS COMPLICATED BY MORE CHILEANS ENTERING THE LABOR MARKET TO SEEK WORK. PINOCHET ENVISAGED AN INCREASE GDP OF FIVE PERCENT IN 1976.

F) SOCIAL PROGRAMS: IN ANOTHER THRUST AT HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS, PINOCHET SAID THAT AFTER YEARS OF SELF-DECLARED POPULIST GOVERNMENTS, HIS REGIME HAD INHERITED REGRESSIVE PROGRAMS UNDER WHICH SCHOOL CHILDREN FROM THE LOWEST 25 PER CENT INCOME GROUP RECEIVED ONLY TWO PERCENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL BUDGET, AND THAT FAMILIES IN THE LOWEST 22 PER CENT INCOME GROUP RECEIVED ONLY 11 PERCENT OF THE HOUSING SUBSIDIES. BY CONTRAST, HIS REGIME IS DEVOTING ONE BILLION US DOLLARS TO 1976 SOCIAL PROGRAMS TO BE ALLOCATED ON THE BASIS OF NEED, RATHER THAN, AS WITH PRIOR REGIMES, TO FAVORED GROUPS. MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO ALL IN NEED, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, AND GRADUALLY CONVERTED TO VOCATIONAL TRAINING PURPOSES. PINOCHET SAID HE REGARDED HIMSELF AS THE DEFENDER OF THE MOST DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTS IN SOCIETY. HE DESCRIBED IN DETAIL PROGRAMS SUCH AS SCHOOL LUNCHES AND MILK FOR PREGN EAG JRLNURSING MOTHERS.

11. POLITICAL POLICY:
THE PRESIDENT BUILT THIS PART OF HIS SPEECH AROUND THE TRIAD OF CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS THAT THE JUNTA HAD SIGNED EARLIER THE SAME MORNING. RATHER THAN GIVE A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE ACTS, PINOCHET WOVE THEM INTO A VIGOROUS JUSTIFICATION

FOR INDEFINITE, AUTHORITARIAN MILITARY RULE IN CHILE. HE SAID LITTLE THAT HAD NOT BEEN SAID BEFORE AT VARIOUS TIMES AND PLACES, BUT HE INCLUDED A SUCCINCT OVERVIEW OF THE CHILEAN MILITARY'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

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12. IN SUM, THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STATE IS TO PROMOTE THE COMMON GOOD, AND THE SECURITY OF THE NATION IS ESSENTIAL TO THAT END. NATIONAL SECURITY IMPLIES NOT ONLY THE PROTECTION OF THE STATE'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, BUT ALSO THE DEFENSE OF ITS "ESSENTIAL VALUES." MOREOVER, NATIONAL SECURITY INVOLVES "DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT," BOTH MATERIALLY AND SPIRITUALLY, AND "IDEOLOGICALLY NEUTRAL" INSTITUTIONS CAN NO LONGER BE ALLOWED. THE PREEMINENT THREAT TO CHILE'S SECURITY STEMS FROM THE "INTRINSICALLY PERVERSE DOCTRINE" OF MARXISM, WHICH SOVIET IMPERIALISTS USE TO MAINTAIN A STATE OF "PERMANENT AGGRESSION," RELYING ON INFILTRATION AND DISORDER -- A FORM OF NON-CONVENTIONAL WARFARE. ONLY THE MILITARY HAS THE ORGANIZATION AND CAPABILITY TO CONFRONT THIS AGGRESSION, AND THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE EFFECTIVE EMERGENCY POWERS IN ORDER TOO DEFEAT COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND COUNTER THOSE WHO WOULD HELP IT.

CLASS CONFLICT AND POWER-HUNGRY POLITICANS DESTROY THE
ESSENTIAL HARMONY AND COHESION OF SOCIETY--THEY HAVE NO PLACE
IN CHILE'S NEW DEMOCRACY.

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13. IN DEVELOPING THESE THEMES, PINOCHET MADE THE FOLLOWING
OBSERVATIONS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST:

A) ON POLITICAL PARTIES: IN ANNOUNCING THE GOVERNMENT'S
DECISION "DRASTICALLY TO ENFORCE" THE CURRENT POLITICAL
RECESS, PINOCHET SAID "IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT
TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES CANNOT AND WILL NOT HAVE A
PLACE" IN THE NEW INSTITUTIONALISM. THEIR STRUCTURE, LEADER-
SHIP, HABITS AND MENTALITY BELONG TO A FRAMEWORK OF
INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE GONE FOREVER ("HA MUERTO DEFINITIVAMENTE").
(NOTE: THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAD FEARED THAT THE "RECESSED"
POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD BE DISSOLVED. PINOCHET DOES NOT
MENTION THE POINT, ALTHOUGH CLEARLY FOR HIM THERE IS NO
PLACE IN CHILE'S FUTURE FOR A PARTY LIKE THE PDC.)

B) ON FASCISM: IN A RARE SWIPE AT THE LUNATIC RIGHT, PINOCHET
SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT "DISAVOWED AND REJECTED SELF-STYLED
ADHERENTS WHO USE NATIONALISM TO ADVANCE FASCIST DOCTRINES
OR ORGANIZATION." ANYONE CALLING THE GOVERNMENT FASCIST IS
EITHER IGNORANT OR ACTING WITH MANIFEST BAD FAITH. PINOCHET
BALANCED THIS COMMENT, HOWEVER, WITH AN IMPLICIT DIG AT THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR THE HIERARCHY'S CRITICISM OF THE
NATIONAL SECURITY CONCEPT.

C) ON LABOR: PINOCHET CALLED FOR COMPULSORY ARBITRATION,
CASTIGATED STRIKES AS SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY EXPENSIVE,
AND SAID THEY WOULD BE SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITED IN INDUSTRIES
AND SERVICES "VITAL" TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OR ECONOMY.
HE LOOKED FAVORABLY UPON THE CREATION OF A NEW KIND OF LABOR
ORGANIZATION AND SAID THAT THE COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD STUDY
THE NEW LABOR CODE. FINALLY, HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE TRIPARTITE
COMMISSIONS (ORGANIZED TO FULFILL SOME COLLECTIVE BARGAINING
FUNCTIONS) WOULD BE GIVEN SOME AUTHORITY TO CONSIDER SALARY
INCREASES.

D) ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION: PINOCHET COMMENTED THAT ONLY
THE ARMED FORCES AND CARABINEROS HAVE THE ORGANIZATION AND
MEANS TO CONFRONT COMMUNIST AGGRESSION ("THIS IS THE PROFOUND
TRUTH, AS SHOWN BY EVENTS IN A LARGE PART OF OUR HEMISPHERE,
ALTHOUGH SOME REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE IT PUBLICLY"). THEN HE
ADDED: "NONETHELESS, HISTORIC EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT ONLY
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THOSE MILITARY REGIMES WHICH ARE ABLE TO BRING THE CIVILIAN SECTOR INTO THEIR WORK ARE CAPABLE OF BECOMING MORE THAN A MERE CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION AND CAN SERVE AS A STABILIZING AND LASTING SUPPORT IN THE CIVIC GROWTH OF THE NATION." ACCORDINGLY, THE GOVERNMENT LOOKED APPROVING ON THE "GRADUAL" PROGRESS BEING ACHIEVED BY "SPONTANEOUS, CIVIC-PATRIOTIC AND NONPARTISAN" GROUPS SUCH AS THE NATIONAL UNITY MOVEMENT AND ITS VARIOUS FRONTS. ALTHOUGH THE DISTRIBUTED TEXT SAID THAT CHILE WOULD BE "STRUCTURED AS A NEW DEMOCRACY WITH POPULAR PARTICIPATION" (AS PROVIDED IN ONE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS SIGNED SEPTEMBER 11), PINOCHET OMITTED THE REFERENCE TO POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTUAL DELIVERY.

E) ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION: PINOCHET ANNOUNCED THE INTENTION TO CREATE A NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RADIO AND TELEVISION TO "GUARANTEE THAT THESE MEDIA CONTRIBUTE THE SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILEANS AND NOT BE USED AS NEGATIVE INSTRUMENTS OR TO DISORIENT THE COMMUNITY." HE PROMISED "FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OF THE PRESS, BUT NOT LICENSE."

14. THE FOLLOWING QUOTE CAPTURES THE FLAVOR OF THE ENTIRE SPEECH. "PROOF THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE THE VICTIMS OF PERMANENT AGGRESSION IMPOSES ON US THE DUTY TO RELY UPON SYSTEMS OF VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE EMERGENCY POWER TO DEFEAT COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND NEUTRALIZE THOSE SMOOTHING ITS PATH.

"RECENTLY VARIOUS PEOPLE HAVE COME FORWARD IN DEFENSE OF THOSE WHOM THE GOVERNMENT HAD THE SAD OBLIGATION TO PUNISH UNDER THE TERMS OF THE STATE OF SIEGE. THEY FREQUENTLY PROCLAIMED THEIR HUMANITARIANISM.

"THIS MORNING I GIVE THEM THIS ANSWER: WHILE THEY DEFEND A FEW PEOPLE PLAYING POLITICS, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC CARRIES ON HIS SHOULDERS THE DUTY OF PROTECTING THE PEACE AND TRANQUILITY OF TEN MILLION CHILEANS WHOSE NAMES HE DOES NOT KNOW BUT WHOSE FACES HE SEES EVERY DAY DURING HIS TRIPS COVERING THE LENGTH OF CHILE. THEY REMIND HIM OF HIS SUPREME MISSION: NOT TO LET THE COUNTRY GET CAUGHT UP AGAIN IN DIVISIVENESS, CONFRONTATION OR CHAOS.

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"WITH THIS DEEP CONVICTION I ASK THE NATION ON THIS SOLEMN OCCASION: WHO IF NOT THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF TRULY DEFENDS HUMAN RIGHTS?" (NO OTHER LINE DREW SUCH SUSTAINED APPLAUSE FROM THE INVITED AUDIENCE.)

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